Dr. Eitan Hersh April 20, 2023

1 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 2 WESTERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS 3 SAN ANTONIO DIVISION LA UNION DEL PUEBLO ENTERO, : 4 5 et al., Plaintiffs, : Case No.: 6 : 5:21-CV-844-XR 7 VS. 8 GREGORY W. ABBOTT, et al., : Defendants. : Page 1-129 9 10 Thursday, April 20, 2023 11 12 13 Videotaped Deposition of DR. EITAN HERSH 14 was taken at U.S. Department of Justice, 150 M 15 Street, NE, 8th Floor, Washington, DC commencing at 16 10:08 a.m., before Sherry L. Brooks, Certified 17 LiveNote Reporter and Notary Public, in and for the 18 District of Columbia. 19 20 MAGNA LEGAL SERVICES 21 WWW.MAGNALS.COM 22



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on Identification Number
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Balloting Under SB1
(Exhibits attached to transcript.)



1	PROCEEDINGS
2	
3	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Here begins the video
4	recorded deposition of Dr. Eitan Hersh taken in the
5	matter of La Uni�n Del Pueblo Entero, et al. versus
6	Gregory Abbott, et al., in the U.S. District Court
7	for the Western District of Texas, Case No.
8	5:51-CV-00844.
9	Today's date is April 20th, 2023. The
LO	time is 10:08. This deposition is being held at 150
11	M Street, Northeast, Washington, DC.
L2	The court reporter is Sherry Brooks. The
L3	video camera operator is Kim Johnson, both are on
L4	behalf of Magna Legal Services.
L5	Will counsel please introduce yourselves
L6	and state whom you represent?
L7	MR. BRYANT: My name is David Bryant. I
L8	represent the Office of the Attorney General of Texas
L9	and represent the state defendants in this case.
20	MR. FREEMAN: This is Dan Freeman on
21	behalf of the United States. With me from the
22	Department of Justice is Richard Dellheim.



1	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: On Zoom?
2	MR. KENNY: This is Stephen Kenny, Jones
3	Day, representing the intervener defendants.
4	MR. BROUGHTON: This is Kenneth Broughton
5	from Reed Smith representing the Haul defendants.
6	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Will the court reporter
7	please swear in the witness?
8	* * * * *
9	WHEREUPON,
10	EITAN HERSH
11	after having been first duly sworn, was
12	examined and testified as follows:
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14	(Exhibit Number 1 and 2 were marked for
15	identification and were attached to the deposition.)
16	EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR STATE
17	DEFENDANTS
18	BY MR. BRYANT:
19	Q. Dr. Hersh, my name is David Bryant. I'm
20	here on behalf of the state defendants, the state of
21	Texas, in this matter. And I want to ask you some
22	questions about work that you have done as an expert



1 in connection with this case. 2 Last evening I received from Mr. Freeman 3 an updated CV for you, and I believe that that is marked as Exhibit 1 in front of you. 4 5 Could you describe for me the changes that are in that CV as compared to the previous CV that 6 7 was provided to the other parties in this case? Yes, sir. So this is my current CV. 8 Α. 9 Let's see, changes since about last year this time, 10 around then, the trustees of the university I work 11 for promoted me to full professor --12 Congratulations. Ο. 13 Thank you -- effective this summer at some Α. 14 point. So that's the first change. On page 2 I've published -- I don't know 15 -- maybe four or so more peer-reviewed research 16 17 articles on topics including local leadership and 18 community influence, antisemitism, freedom of 19 expression, and the political rule of business 20 leaders. The top four or five or so are probably new 21 or updated since the last CV. In Section 6, Other Writing, I've 22



1 published a few months ago an article about "Politics 2 in the Workplace in the Atlantic." 3 In the Section 7, Teaching, I'm teaching a 4 new course this year for the first time on American 5 Conservatism, so that's listed there. Let's see. I added -- I gave an invited 6 7 talk at SUNY New Paltz a couple weeks ago actually. 8 And what else? I have updated consulting and expert 9 witness sections. So the final section, Section 12, 10 lists court cases in which I've been deposed, 11 including two ones (sic) that I think have happened 12 since I was last deposed in this case. 13 So on the third page of Exhibit 1 there's Ο. 14 -- Number 12 is described as, quote, Expert witness 15 testimony since 2019. Are all of the items listed there ones in 16 17 which you testified by deposition as opposed to in 18 court? 19 That's correct. None of the -- as far as Α.

A. That's correct. None of the -- as far as
I know, none of those cases went to court. They were
all deposed.

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Q. Okay. And have you ever testified as a



1 witness before any court? 2 Α. Yes. 3 When did you last do that? 0. I think it was in 2018. 4 Α. 5 Okay. How many times have you done it? Q. In court, one time. 6 Α. 7 And what was that case in approximately Ο. 8 2018 when you testified in court? 9 The case was called Fish v. Kobach. 10 was a federal case in Kansas. The case was about --11 I believe it was about providing documentary proof of 12 citizenship when registering to vote, and my 13 testimony was about a couple things. 14 One was about whether noncitizens are 15 registering and voting in Kansas elections and then there was some methodological expertise on surveys 16 17 and misreporting in surveys and a few other things 18 that came up at trial. 19 Are you currently providing expert Ο. 20 consulting or witness services in other cases in



Currently, yes, one other case.

which you've not yet been deposed?

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Α.

1	Q. What is that case?
2	MR. FREEMAN: I'm going to object to the
3	extent that those are subject to the limitations on
4	disclosure of consultants, also to the extent that
5	those go to something that is confidential under an
6	employment agreement with respect to a party who is
7	not present. That doesn't really provide them an
8	opportunity to properly object, and it might be
9	requesting the witness to violate a confidentiality
10	clause in a contract.
11	MR. BRYANT: Okay. I certainly don't
12	intend to request a witness to violate a
13	confidentiality obligation he may have.
14	BY MR. BRYANT:
15	Q. Would answering that question require you
16	to do so?
17	A. I think so because my role hasn't been
18	disclosed.
19	Q. Okay. Is that a voting rights case?
20	A. It's a voting case, yes.
21	Q. We're going to look at your second
22	supplement to your report dated February 3rd, 2023.



1 Have you done any additional work related to your 2 reports since the date of that report? 3 Α. Yes. 4 Q. Could you describe that work? 5 May I get a copy if you're MR. FREEMAN: 6 going to discuss his report? 7 MR. BRYANT: Sure. 8 Daniel, I will apologize that the extra 9 copies that I have do not have the cover page on 10 them, but I believe it's otherwise intact. 11 Α. Should I answer? 12 BY MR. BRYANT: 13 Q. Yes. 14 So since writing the report my work 15 amounted to, I think, two things. One was preparing for this testimony. I reviewed reports. I reviewed 16 17 a rebuttal report from the state's witness. 18 I reviewed some of my computer code. 19 then reflecting on one of the interesting points in 20 the rebuttal witness's report, I ran a quick 21 supplementary analysis just to see if the results 22 changed based on something that Dr. Hoekstra



1 | mentioned.

Q. All right. If I understand your answer correctly, in preparation for the deposition you reviewed the various data and other material that was already part of your previous analyses; is that right?

- A. Correct.
- Q. And the only thing that you did that was a new analysis or new work was this quick supplementary analysis that you just referred to?
- A. That's right.
- Q. And could you describe that supplementary analysis?
- A. Sure. So it referenced the third component in this second supplemental report. I had looked at whether there was a difference in use of mail voting among people who were in this at-risk pool; that is, the pool of people who through -- who seemed to have -- who I suggested in my reports might have an issue complying with SB1 on account of them having either multiple ID numbers or not having an ID number listed in the voter file and TEAM or having a



typo.

So in the report I looked at whether there was a difference in use of mail voting depending on whether one was in that at-risk population and when -- whether one was not in that at-risk population.

Dr. Hoekstra suggested maybe there are other reasons why there might be a different participation rate, so I wanted to do an analysis where I controlled for some of the key factors, such as county -- age would be the biggest one -- gender, anything that was available that would be a correlate to confirm that my results would be the same controlling for these other factors.

Dr. Hoekstra also mentioned that -- a claim, that perhaps those in that at-risk population voted less by mail, but they did not vote less in general, meaning they -- instead of voting by mail they voted in person.

And so instead of checking whether -- or in addition to checking whether the at-risk population had a lower mail voting rate, I checked to see whether the at-risk population had an overall



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lower turnout rate. And I find that, indeed, they did and also controlling for those demographic and geographic factors. So that's the analysis I ran. Q. Okay. If you're asked to testify at the trial of this case, do you expect to testify at all about that supplementary analysis that you have done since your February 3rd, 2023 second supplement? Insomuch as -- if it comes up by Dr. Α. Hoekstra, I quess, you know, that this was a criticism, my intuition would be to make sure that I would be able to respond to that criticism and allay the concern that he addressed. Okay. On behalf of the state defendants, O.

Q. Okay. On behalf of the state defendants, we'd request a copy of your supplemental analysis and any supporting materials if there's a possibility that those will be used by you at trial.

MR. FREEMAN: And we're happy to provide something by -- there's a supplementation or correction deadline. We're happy to work with Dr. Hersh to get you something by then. That's fine.

MR. BRYANT: Okay.

BY MR. BRYANT:



Q. Dr. Hersh, have there been any changes in your compensation rate for your work in this case since you began it?

A. No, sir.

- Q. Approximately, how much compensation have you billed to date on this matter?
- A. I wouldn't be able to give you a good estimate, sir, not off the top of my head anyway.

 I'm happy to find the data.
- Q. And do you have any estimate as to how much you've actually been paid for your work in this case to date?
- A. I really don't have an estimate. It's been going on for over a year now, I guess.
- Q. Do you have any estimate as to how much compensation you expect to bill through the trial of this case?
- A. I really don't. In fact, before five minutes ago I didn't know there might be a supplementary analysis to do.
- Q. Okay. You described a little bit earlier in your testimony the preparation that you did for



1 your deposition here today, and I believe one of the 2 things that you said was that you reviewed some 3 computer code in preparation for your deposition. 4 Could you describe more specifically what 5 you did in that regard? Sure. So I believe as part of each 6 7 reports -- the sharing of each report with --8 certainly with my attorneys, I think with defendants 9 as well, I've shared the code. It's a software 10 program called STATA. The code is the file of 11 commands that are used to manipulate the data. 12 And so if you can look at the code, you 13 see, you know, all the manipulations that happen that 14 produce all the results. And so I just looked at the 15 same code file that was, I assume, disclosed to defendants. 16 17 Ο. Okay. Do you recall reaching any conclusions as a result of your review of the 18 19 computer code in preparation for your deposition 20 today? 21 No new conclusions. It just really Α. 22 reminded me of what the analysis was.



1 Okay. Now, you've been deposed a number O. 2 of times before, and you have counsel present, so I'm 3 not going to go through a lot of ground rules with 4 you. 5 But, obviously, if you have any trouble understanding my questions or you want me to be more 6 7 specific, please feel free to tell me. If you go 8 ahead and answer the question, I'll assume that you 9 do adequately understand me. 10 And, similarly, if you at any time want to 11 take a break -- if there's a question pending, please 12 complete that question. But, otherwise, feel free to 13 take a break at any time as we -- as we go through 14 our day. 15 About how many times have you been -- have you given a deposition? 16 17 Α. Maybe seven or so. 18 Yeah, it's hard to count after a while, 0. 19 doesn't (sic) it? I know I can't -- I couldn't 20 estimate the number of depositions that I've 21 participated in. 22 Now, do you expect to testify at the trial



1	of this case?
2	A. If I'm asked to.
3	Q. If requested to testify, do you have any
4	professional opinions that you would expect to
5	provide in connection with this case?
6	MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
7	A. I mean, I assume I would be asked to share
8	my insights having done the research that is reported
9	in these three different reports I've written.
10	BY MR. BRYANT:
11	Q. Okay. Maybe there's a difference between
12	the term I used, which was a professional opinion, as
13	opposed to insight from work that you have done.
14	Do you recognize any such difference?
15	A. I'm not sure, so I guess I would say that,
16	you know, I'm a political scientist. I study
17	elections, that I use, you know, a certain set of
18	methodologies to study elections. That skill set and
19	expertise is, I assume, why I was asked to be an
20	expert in cases like this one. That knowledge



If you're asking about expertise that is

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translates into the report.

1 unrelated to the report, I don't see why I'd be asked 2 to opine on anything not related to the work I've done for the case. 3 4 Q. I understand that. And, for example, in your reports you summarize some conclusions from your 5 analysis. In most or all instances you don't go on 6 7 to say, and, therefore, I'm of the opinion that X. That would be a -- the kind of opinion that I'm 8 9 asking you about. 10 Do you have any professional opinions of 11 that type that you would be prepared to testify 12 about? 13 Objection. MR. FREEMAN: Form. 14 Α. Yeah, I'm struggling a little bit with the 15 hypothetical here. 16 BY MR. BRYANT: 17 Q. Okay. 18 I think that I draw conclusions and opine 19 based on the conclusions in the report. You know, 20 for --21 Okay. We'll go down -- I don't mean to Q. 22 cut you off. Go ahead and finish your answer.



A. I recall -- I don't know if it was in this report or a previous one -- where I reflect on the cleanliness of the TEAM file and its ability to be used to confirm someone's identity in the way that is being asked through SB1.

So I would say that's, you know, an opinion formed through the analysis. I assume that's the kind of opinion that I would be providing that's, you know, coming -- flowing from my expertise through the work that I've done on the case.

Q. Okay. In general this lawsuit concerns a

Q. Okay. In general this lawsuit concerns a bill that changed voting laws in Texas in 2021 that's referred to as SB1. And you referred to that bill, I believe, in your various reports.

So were you familiar with that piece of legislation that was enacted in Texas?

- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And is your work or your opinions related to any aspect of SB1, other than mail-in voting?
 - A. No.

Q. And did you do any work -- do you have any opinions related to any effect of SB1 on voting by



1 any racial groups? 2 Can you just repeat the question? Α. 3 Yeah. Does your work or do you have 0. opinions based on your work about the effect, if any, 4 of SB1 on voting by different racial groups? 5 No, sir. That's not an analysis I 6 Α. 7 conducted. And do you have any -- did you do any work 8 Q. or do you have any opinions based on your work 9 10 regarding whether or not SB1 was intended to 11 discriminate against any racial group, including 12 Hispanics? 13 I did no analysis on intent. Α. 14 Ο. And so you have no opinions based on your 15 work regarding that subject? 16 Α. Correct. 17 Q. Okay. And did you do any work and do you 18 have any opinions on any effects of SB1 on voters 19 with disabilities? 20 Yes, sir. Α. 21 Could you describe what work you did in Q. 22 that regard?



Α. Sure. There were a couple of statuses in the DPS database reflecting those who have DPS identification numbers who are disabled veterans or homebound, and so I did analyses in all the reports about the number of those who have these flags in the DPS system for disability, how many of them appear in my at-risk pool, for example. Q. Okay. Did you do any other work on that subject? I believe the homebound and disabled Α. No. veteran status codes amounts to the work that I did related to disability in this case. And is all of that reflect -- work and the Ο.

- results of it reflected in your reports that you provided to the parties in this case?
- Α. Yes, sir.

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- Okay. Did you do any work on voters with Q. disabilities who were neither homebound nor disabled veterans?
 - I didn't -- so just to be clear for both this question and the question you asked about like racial groups, obviously, there's a mix of people of



different racial groups or different disability
statuses who are in -- presumably in like the at-risk
pool.

But I did not do a specific analysis about race and I didn't do a specific analysis about disability, other than the homebound and disabled veteran statuses.

- Q. Okay. And there would be people, you would expect, of every racial group in the voter population that you would not describe as at-risk; is that correct?
- A. That's right.

- Q. And, similarly, there could be disabled voters in the portion of the Texas voting population that are not in your category of at-risk voters; is that right?
 - A. That's right.
- Q. Now, have you done any work or do you have any opinions on the extent of vote fraud in Texas either before or after the passage of SB1 or both?
- 21 A. Do I have any opinions about it? Is that 22 your question?



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Q. Professional opinions based on your work.

A. So I have done a lot of research. I've read a lot of scholarly literature on fraud claims, so I have opinions about the incidents of fraud at a national level.

And, of course, I've done a couple of cases in other states that lead me to have views about the incidents of in-person fraud, noncitizens trying to vote, people voting in multiple states at the same time, but I didn't do any work in these reports about -- specifically about Texas before and after this law and its relationship to fraud.

- Q. And so you don't have any opinions based on your work in this case regarding the extent, if any, of voter fraud in Texas either before or after SB1 or both of them?
- A. Well, again, just to make sure we're on the same page, I do have professional opinions about what I know about the incidents of fraud in the country, to the extent that I've done a lot of work on this question.

So to the extent that that view carries



into the state of Texas, then I have a professional opinion about it. To the extent that you're asking specifically about did I do an analysis about fraud in Texas before and after, the answer is no.

- Q. Okay. Did you do any work or do you have any opinions about the effectiveness of SB1, if any, about deterring vote fraud?
- A. So this ties into the last question a bit. Given what I understand to be an incredibly low rate of the existence of, you know, fraud in U.S. elections, I have an opinion about what SB1 might be able to do in terms of responding to fraud.
- So I have a professional view about that.

 But, again, if you're asking about -- did I do an analysis about the incidents of fraud before and after, the answer is no.
- Q. Okay. And is it also true that you can't draw any professional opinions about the effectiveness of SB1 in deterring or detecting fraud based on the work you did in this case?
- 21 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
 - A. The opinions that I have about the ability



1	of SB1 to deter fraud comes from my professional
2	knowledge about the incidents of fraud beyond this
3	case, but it doesn't come from any reports that I've
4	done for this case.
5	BY MR. BRYANT:
6	Q. Do you have any understanding of the
7	purpose or purposes of the Texas legislature in
8	imposing identification requirements for mail-in
9	voting in SB1?
10	A. No. As I said, I didn't do an intent
11	analysis.
12	Q. In your testimony earlier and also in your
13	reports you refer to a the term "DPS ID."
14	Could you explain for the record what that
15	means?
16	A. Sure, so Department of Safety
17	Identification. Typically, a driver's license
18	number. Those who have driver's licenses have been
19	assigned a driver's license number. They may have
20	more than one.
21	There's also a couple of other kinds of
22	IDs one might have through DPS that is not a driver's



So -- but, essentially, the Department of 1 license. 2 Public Safety has a list of individuals, many listed 3 more than once, with one or more identification 4 number. Again, typically, a driver's license. 5 So is it correct that in your reports and Q. in your testimony when you use the term "DPS ID" 6 7 you're encompassing both Texas driver's licenses and 8 state ID cards issued by the Department of Public

10 | A. Yes, sir.

Safety in Texas?

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- 11 Q. All right. Could you take a brief look at 12 Exhibit 2 and identify that for the record?
 - A. Exhibit 2 is a second supplement to my report, so this is the third report that I've written for this case, dated February 3rd, 2023.
 - Q. Okay. And on page 2 of that report under the general heading Abstract you describe three types of work or analysis that you did in connection with this case.

Let's look first at the one that is indicated as Number 1. And could you describe generally what that refers to?



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Sure. I did an analysis to answer the question who in Texas, which voters, could fill out a mail ballot application or a mail ballot carrier envelope -- mail ballot itself correctly according to the law, providing the information that was asked of them, but on account of database issues, essentially, their form would be rejected. There were three basic ways a form like that could be rejected. Again, this is filled out accurately by the voters, so it's not a problem with the voter messing something up. One is that many Texas voters have DPS ID 13 numbers, but those numbers are not listed in the 14 voter registration system, which I'll refer to as TEAM as an abbreviation. So if they fill out the form, they're asked to fill out that number. TEAM doesn't have the number listed, so their form is rejected. That's Number 1. Number 2 is that it turns out that many 21 Texas voters have multiple DPS ID numbers, maybe a driver's license and a separate one for a motorcycle



or they have a -- I don't know totally all the circumstances why so many voters have multiple DPS ID numbers.

Maybe someone was a driver and they had a driver's license but then they, you know, got to a place where they weren't driving anymore and they wanted a different kind of ID card. I'm speculating a little bit on the circumstances, but for whatever the circumstances are, people have multiple ID numbers.

According to the form that these voters are asked to fill out, they can fill out any valid or actually expired driver's license number. But the way that the TEAM database is structured, TEAM only lists up to one DPS ID number.

So if the voter happens to list the one that's valid for the purposes of compliance but it's not the one listed by TEAM, their form will also be rejected.

And the third category is that for a variety of reasons the TEAM file has lots of typos on social security number and on DPS ID number, you



1 know, a social security number that's off by one 2 And, again, if the voter does everything 3 right and lists their correct information, they still 4 could be rejected on account of that database error. 5 So this first part of my analysis is 6 providing a methodology for assessing how many voters 7 fall into these categories. And I concluded similar 8 to analyses done in two previous reports that about one in seven Texas voters have this kind of database 9 10 profile where they could fill out their forms just 11 perfectly accurately, but they'll still be rejected 12 on account of one of these issues. 13 Okay. That's about 15 percent, one in Q. 14 seven? 15 One in seven, that's right. Α. And is that's -- at least on Exhibit 2, 16 Q. 17 the approximate number that you concluded had this 18 issue? 19 That's right. 15.4 percent, according to Α. 20 the analysis of this report. 21 Now, in your analysis and in your reports Q. 22 and in your testimony this morning you refer to an



1 application for mail-in ballot or a mail-in ballot being, quote, rejected, unquote. 2 3 Could you explain what you mean by that 4 term? 5 Α. Sure. So a voter can request a mail ballot -- just to add more abbreviations to our 6 7 exercise today -- generally referred to as ABBMs. 8 And that application for a mail ballot 9 under SB1's rules requires the voter to put in their 10 DPS ID number if they have such a number. And if 11 they don't have such a number, then the last four 12 digits of their social security number. 13 That application is then evaluated by 14 county officials, my understanding is, and if it's 15 not complete for this or other reasons, it's rejected. The voter is notified there's a -- the 16 17 voter will not -- without taking further action will 18 not receive a mail ballot. 19 That's sort of the first stage process. 20 And then the second stage process I refer to is, once 21 the voter receives a mail ballot, they're asked again 22 for that same kind of information, their DPS ID



number on the carrier envelope, the envelope that carries the mail ballot back to the election office.

And, again, if that DPS ID number is not on that carrier envelope, without taking further action -- without the voter taking further action, the ballot will not be counted.

- Q. Okay. Is it fair to say that a ballot or an ABBM can be rejected and then cured so that the voter can, in fact, vote by mail in that election?
- A. Depending on the circumstances; for example, when the problem is identified, whether the voter learns about the problem. It's theoretically possible for the problem to be cured.
- Q. And, in fact, your -- I believe your reports indicate that in some instances it is cured; is that right?
 - A. That's right.

Q. Okay. And is it also possible that persons whose ABBMs or mail-in ballots are rejected may, nevertheless, vote successfully by going to the polls in person either early voting or on election day?



A. If they are able to, they could use a different voting method as an alternative.

- Q. And based on your work and analysis, does that also occur in Texas?
- 5 A. Yes.

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- Q. Okay. And, of course, we're just talking about the elections in the first year of the existence of SB1; is that correct?
- 9 A. I'm trying to remember here. So the law 10 was passed in what, 2021?
- 11 Q. It was passed in approximately October of 12 2021.
- 13 A. So, yes, roughly a year.
- Q. Okay. So just to clarify, when you use
 the term "rejected" with respect to an ABBM or
 mail-in ballot, that doesn't necessarily mean that
 that voter did not, in fact, successfully vote in the
 election?
- 19 A. They might have voted by having cured or 20 by voting by a different method.
- Q. Okay. Are you aware of the different ways that a voter whose ABBM was initially rejected could



1 cure that rejection or shortcoming in the number or 2 perhaps a problem in a database, the TEAM's database? 3 I'm aware of some of the possible ways Α. 4 they could do that. 5 Okay. What are the ways that you're aware Q. of? 6 7 So, as far as I know, if the TEAM 8 information, for example, is wrong, you know, it has 9 a typo, has an incorrect merge with DPS numbers, the voter could re-register to vote, I believe. And the 10 11 re-registration, if done correctly, would rectify the 12 problem. 13 David, none of these MR. FREEMAN: 14 questions are going to what is in Dr. Hersh's 15 supplemental report. Any of them could have been posed regarding his original report. 16 17 You know, I've let this go for a bit. 18 to the extent the questions are not newly relevant to 19 his supplemental report -- they seem to be outside 20 the scope of this deposition. So to the extent that we're sort of 21 22 getting there, that would be great, but I do want to



1 sort of make sure that we're on the same page that 2 this deposition goes only to Dr. Hersh's supplemental report. 3 4 He sat for a lengthy deposition with your 5 former colleague on the other report. Okay, and I appreciate that. 6 MR. BRYANT: 7 BY MR. BRYANT: I intend to ask you about the work and 8 O. 9 analysis that is in your second supplemental report, 10 which is focused on the general election that 11 occurred in Texas in November 2022. 12 I may not in all instances have that 13 prefaced to make it clear, but, please -- please 14 consider that part of my question. And if you have any confusion about it, feel free to ask me to 15 clarify it. 16 17 So what are the other ways that you're 18 aware of that in connection with the November 2022 19 general election a Texas voter whose ABBM was 20 initially rejected could cure whatever problem caused 21 that rejection? 22 So it depends -- my understanding Right. Α.



1 is that it depends a lot on what exactly the problem So, for example, if they have a valid -- if 2 was. 3 they have one valid DPS ID number and they just misread the instructions, they didn't put it on, they 4 can cure it by, I believe, going into a computer 5 system and entering the information, if I'm 6 7 remembering this correctly. 8 Now, if they have multiple ID numbers, 9 which comes up a lot, then their number is correct 10 but they, again, would have to try multiple times to 11 figure out which ID number is the one that Texas has 12 on file. And by Texas here, I mean the TEAM records. 13 I think when there's typos or TEAM doesn't 14 have the information, it's not as straightforward, my 15 understanding is not as clear about what exactly the cure process is, other than re-registration. 16 17 Ο. Are you aware of whether or not a voter 18 could simply call their county election official, 19 talk over the problem, and get the record corrected? 20 So this came up in the last deposition, 21 and it was, I think, quite a confusing set of



circumstances that we were imagining because, of

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1 course, if anyone could just call up the election 2 office and say, I'm Joe Smith at this address; my ID 3 number is wrong; here is the right ID number, then 4 that would provide no security to the election system 5 and it would create all sorts of privacy concerns. So I'm not exactly sure how this calling 6 7 up would work. But, again, this is not exactly how 8 the cure process happens. It's not something I 9 deeply investigated for this report. 10 Okay. And specifically, you don't know Ο. 11 whether or not that actually occurs in Texas? 12 Objection. MR. FREEMAN: Form. 13 In the last deposition the attorney from Α. 14 the state talked about this process of calling up the 15 counties. It struck me as quite informal and I'm not clear how it protected the voter's privacy or the 16 17 security of the elections, but I don't know the 18 details. 19 BY MR. BRYANT: 20 Well, I'm not asking you about questions Ο. 21 that anybody else asked. I'm just asking about your 22 knowledge.



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And my question is: Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not a voter can either by phone or in person work at and correct a problem that might be encountered with his or her ABBM or mail-in ballot? MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Again, to the extent I learned about this, I learned about it from our last deposition where there was a lot of discussion about this. And I -because it's not central to my report, I didn't spend time figuring that question out. BY MR. BRYANT: Okay. And aside from whatever the lawyer Q. who was asking you questions in the deposition may have suggested or told you -- because they weren't testifying -- do you have any knowledge on that subject yourself from your work with the database --18 databases or otherwise? Objection. MR. FREEMAN: Form. So what's obvious from the databases is that there are some individuals who have flags that there was a rejection and then there was also a flag



that they successfully voted.

From this, I conclude that some people who had a problem had their problem cured and were able to vote, but I don't know from the database itself why or how someone went through that curing process.

BY MR. BRYANT:

Q. If I understood your testimony earlier correctly, it was possible for a Texas voter who wanted to vote in the November 2022 general election but encountered an initial rejection of a mail-in ballot to provide information online, that would cure that problem by eliminating a typo, providing a different DPS ID number, or in some other way?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. No, sir. My understanding is that in many circumstances correcting something online would not be possible if the voter needed to provide the same information like the last four digits of their social security number or a DPS ID number to log into that system.

So if the system is validating the voter based on those numbers but the numbers themselves are



1 wrong, then the voter could not use that online 2 process to cure. 3 BY MR. BRYANT: 4 Q. Is it your testimony that in some instances it would be possible, but in other 5 instances it would not be possible because of the 6 7 problem you just described? 8 Α. I think in the specific circumstance 9 of someone who just had -- there actually is no 10 database problem like in the at-risk population that 11 I suggested, but another problem, the voter neglected to fill out their form, then I believe they could 12 13 cure through this online system. 14 Again, in the first report I wrote, I 15 said, you know, there are a lot of reasons why someone might run into trouble voting because of SB1, 16 17 other than the reasons that I'm studying; for 18 example, a voter error. 19 So that would be a way to cure a voter 20 error, if the voter just neglected to put the ID 21 number on the form. 22 These circumstances are a little deeper



because they get to issues with the databases
themselves; that is, they are not the fault of the
voter; they are the fault of the system.

And there you have a different set of circumstances, and I think those are not always as clear about how they would be cured.

- Q. I believe you testified that in the TEAM's databases only one DPS ID is listed for each voter at most?
 - A. That's right, zero or one.

- Q. And what's your understanding, if you have one, as to how that DPS ID number gets into the TEAM's database for those who do have a DPS number in the database?
- A. I believe there are two ways. One is on the registration form itself, and then the other is through a merge between the TEAM and DPS, although it's a bit of a mystery to me why there are so many people who are clearly through my analysis shown to be on both files but don't have a DPS ID number on the TEAM file or there are typos.

So a typo would make sense if someone is



1 filling out a registration form that includes their 2 DPS ID number or something is hand entered into a 3 computer system. And that's why you might have a 4 typo on the TEAM file that's inconsistent with a DPS 5 file. Why there are people who are valid voters 6 7 with valid driver's licenses who are not listed with that driver's license number on the TEAM file 8 9 suggests that to the extent that the state is merging 10 these databases together they are doing it in an 11 incomplete way.

- Q. Okay. If I understand your testimony correctly, you're aware of two mechanisms that might result in a DPS ID number for a Texas voter being placed into the TEAM's database. One is when the voter registers the voter provides a DPS ID number; is that right?
 - A. Yes.

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Q. And the second is that apparently there are merges between the DPS ID database and the TEAM's database. Is that -- did I understand your earlier testimony correctly?



A. That's right. And a subset of this second category would be people who register through the motor voter process; that is, people who register while they're in the process of getting a driver's license ID or updating a driver's license.

- Q. If a voter registered to vote and provided a driver's license number that was one or two digits off, would that incorrect driver's license number be reflective in the TEAM's database?
 - A. Can you repeat the question?
- Q. Sure. If a Texas voter, John Smith, registers to vote, is asked to provide his driver's license number, and provides the number but transposes a digit or otherwise makes a minor error in it, would that TEAM's database then inaccurately reflect his Texas driver's license?
 - A. Yes.

Q. Okay. So if I understand you correctly, one possible source of discrepancies between the TEAM's database and the DPS database would be if the voter either intentionally or unintentionally does not provide the precisely correct driver's license



1 | number, when he or she registers?

A. Yes. That would be totally indistinguishable from a clerk entering the information wrong or the voters having bad penmanship and it being unclear what the number is.

There are lots of -- these idiosyncratic reasons why voter registration records on all fields, the address field, the name field, might have typos or errors in them.

- Q. Do you know or can you estimate how many of the approximately 2.7 million Texas voters who you identified with the term "at-risk" are in that category because they didn't provide an accurate number for their Texas driver's license or ID?
- A. So there are about 100,000, 106,000 of the at-risk people who have what seems to be a typo either in their DPS ID number or their last four digits of their social security number.

And from the data itself you can't know whether that's administrative problems or a problem, you know, way back whenever the voter registered with a messy handwritten application. Either way I would



1 say it's a database problem that's sort of distinct 2 from the voter filling out the SB1 form accurately. 3 In other words, what I distinguished 4 before in our conversation was someone who has a typo 5 when they fill out their application form or they neglect because the law is new they didn't -- you 7 know, it says it right on it, but they didn't do it 8 and they don't put their ID number at all. That's 9 one set of problems. 10 The database problems include situations 11 like the one we're discussing now which is either due 12 to administrative error or a voter error when they 13 registered to vote that there's a database 14 inaccuracy. 15 Okay. And let's look at page 5 of your Ο. 16 second supplemental report that's Exhibit 2. have a table A there. 17 18 Yes, sir. Α. 19 Do you have that in front of you? Ο. Yes, sir. 20 Α. 21 So one category that's listed in table A Q.



is a Typo/Inconsistent SSN4 in DPS versus TEAM.

security number?

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And your report indicates that there are about 44,000 of those statewide in Texas in the databases as they existed on January 2023. Am I reading that correctly?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Okay. So is it possible that any of those 44,000 or so typos or inconsistencies occurred because a voter incorrectly wrote down their social

- A. Just to be clear, it's possible that someone's in there because the voter incorrectly wrote down their social security number when they registered, not when participating in a mail ballot procedure.
- Q. Okay. And is it possible that the approximately 62,000 Texas voters statewide who are listed as having a typo or an inconsistent DPS ID in DPS versus in TEAMs are that some of those are voters who incorrectly provided their DPS ID to the Secretary of State when they did their voter registration?
 - A. Right. The data -- indistinguishable from



1 the circumstance in which there's an administrative 2 error or poor penmanship or a typo or a mistake from 3 the voter. 4 MR. FREEMAN: David, I'm going to have to object again because all of these categories existed 5 in the initial report. This section of the report is 6 7 a replication of the initial report. 8 To the extent that you have questions 9 about changes in numbers, what the final numbers are, 10 that's fine. But these categories were established 11 previously and were subject to questioning in the 12 initial deposition, and I believe it's improper for 13 you to be asking questions about what exists in each 14 category at this time. 15 These are all questions your colleague 16 could have asked a year ago. 17 MR. BRYANT: Well, my questions are about 18 the portion of the report that relates to January 19 2023 that my colleague could not have asked about. 20 (Simultaneously speaking.) 21 MR. BRYANT: And, in addition, the witness 22 chose to put comparison numbers from prior reports.



1 I think I'm entitled to ask about those, but your 2 objection is noted. 3 MR. FREEMAN: We've been going for about Would it make sense to take a break? 4 an hour. 5 That's fine. MR. BRYANT: THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 6 7 11:07. 8 (A break was taken.) 9 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at 10 11:20. BY MR. BRYANT: 11 12 Dr. Hersh, in connection with your work in Q. 13 this case, did you interview anybody? 14 Α. No, sir. 15 Did you obtain any information related to O. your work in this case from any sources that are not 16 17 disclosed in the reports that you have written? 18 Α. No, sir. 19 In connection with your work in this case, Ο. 20 did you do any personal observations in Texas? 21 Α. No, sir. 22 Did you go to Texas in connection with Q.



1 your work in this case? 2 Α. Not yet. 3 All right. We're looking at Exhibit 2 and 4 page 5 thereof. And if I understand this correctly, 5 you identified in your work in January 2023 or thereabouts 2,690,344 total issues out of about 17.45 6 7 million records on the TEAM's database; is that 8 correct? 9 That's correct. Α. 10 Okay. Is it correct that about 90 percent 0. 11 of those were in the second category, which is described as 1 DPS ID in TEAMs possesses multiple DPS 12 13 IDs? 14 Yes. Out of 2.7 million issues, 2.4 15 million of them are in that category. Okay. And so when you looked at the --16 Q. 17 when you examined the DPS database there were 18 multiple IDs for voter and only one ID in the TEAM's 19 database; is that right? 20 Α. Correct. 21 And I think we've established that in many 0. 22 instances the ID in the TEAM's database would be the



one that the voter chose to put in their voter registration materials; is that right?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. No, sir. I have no reason to believe -- I have no reason to have an opinion, I guess, about what is the predominant ID in the database, where it comes from, whether it's from Motor Voter or the voter themselves or which one is the one that is in the TEAM database.

BY MR. BRYANT:

- Q. Okay. So if I understand you correctly, you identified two ways that you know of that the DPS ID number could get into the TEAM's database, either the voter registration form or the merge that would result in an ID from the DPS database being put in the TEAM's database; is that correct?
 - A. To my best knowledge, yes.
- Q. Okay. But you have no information whatsoever as to whether one of those two methods contributes 95 percent of the numbers on the TEAM's database or 5 percent or any other number in between or on the other side -- on the outside of those



1 numbers; is that correct? 2 If I were to speculate, I would say that Α. 3 -- I would guess that most of them probably come from the process of getting a driver's license or maybe 4 more recently updating a driver's license, but I --5 nothing about the TEAM or DPS data files that I 6 7 analyzed in this case provide an indication of the 8 source. 9 And you have no other source of data on Ο. 10 that subject? 11 I suppose it might have been in, you know, 12 one of the state's witness deposition transcripts, 13 but I don't recall anything like that. 14 0. Okay. Now, you mentioned that there are 15 periodic merges of the DPS ID database with the TEAM's database; is that correct? 16 17 Α. That's my understanding. 18 And what's the source of that O. 19 understanding? 20 Now we're trying to get stuff in the brain Α. 21 from, you know, a year ago or so ago. I'm guessing



it was maybe in Sherry Gipson's deposition

1 transcript. Or somewhere in the documents I received
2 in the case there was a discussion maybe about an
3 annual merge or something of that -- of that flavor.

- Q. Could it have been from other depositions in this case that you either attended or read a transcript?
- 7 A. Yeah. I didn't attend any depositions, 8 but I did read a couple of transcripts.

- Q. Do you recall what transcripts you read that could have provided information that is used in your analyses?
 - A. Right. And, again, this is from before the previous deposition, so it's -- which I'm telling you only to convey that this is a long time ago and I don't have it on the top of my head.
 - But I believe I reviewed the transcript deposition -- from the deposition of Ms. Gipson from DPS and from whoever the person is -- I can't remember her name -- who is the data TEAM -- TEAM person, I guess, for the elections division. That's the only ones I recall.
 - Q. Okay. Do you have any understanding as to



1 how often those merges of the DPS ID database and the 2 Secretary of State's TEAMs database occur?

- A. So my understanding is that if we're talking about merges that happened through the -- what I'll call the Motor Voter process; that is, when you're getting a license or updating a license -- I would assume they happen on an ongoing continuous basis.
- But I recall -- and from where -- what transcript I don't recall, but I recall something about an annual merging of records that's separate from the Motor Voter process.
- Q. And is the Motor Voter process, as you describe, one that would provide information from DPS to the TEAM's database just for the new voters who have provided that information as part of the Motor Voter process?
- A. Right, a new voter or someone who is changing their address or -- yeah, I don't know how it would work if someone gets a new kind of ID, for example.
 - Q. Okay. Do you have any information as to



1 when, if at all, a -- one of those merges of the DPS ID database and the TEAM's database occurred since 2 3 SB1 was passed? 4 Α. No. We touched on this earlier, but I want to 5 Q. be sure I understand it. I think you described a few 6 7 ways that the DPS ID database might have more than one DPS ID number. I think one of the ones you 8 9 mentioned is a person might have both a driver's 10 license and a motorcycle driver's license; is that 11 correct? 12 That's my speculation. I did not do a Α. 13 deep investigation about this. There are some people 14 -- I'll tell you what I did do an investigation 15 about, there are some people who have two forms of ID; that is, like a driver's license and a state ID 16 17 license. 18 That's not most. Most people have two of 19 one kind, mostly two of a driver's license type. 20 so exactly why they do because they -- now I'm 21 speculating -- they have two different kinds of 22 vehicle licenses or whatever the reason, I don't know



why, but they are distinct numbers associated with the same person.

- Q. Okay. And what's the source of your information that was the basis of that answer that most of them --
 - A. Yeah --

- Q. -- have two types of driver's licenses as opposed to a driver's license and an ID?
- A. Right. So the DPS database that I had access to that was -- enabled me to do this whole analysis had the list of the numbers and the personal information like name, social security number, and it did have this flag of what kind of ID it was, whether it was a driver's license number or a state ID number.
- So I could see that -- oh, my first intuition was oh, maybe a lot of people have two kinds of IDs, and I checked that. That does happen, but it was mostly this other thing, which is that most -- a lot of people with two different ID numbers in the same category.
 - Q. In the same category, meaning they're both



1 driver's licenses?

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- A. That's right.
- Q. And did the database indicate what types of licenses were included in the multiple driver's license entries?
 - A. My recollection is that the export that I received did not contain that information.
 - Q. Do you know whether or not if a voter holds a commercial driver's license that license number would be -- appear in the DPS ID database?
 - A. I assume it would, but I don't know.
 - Q. If someone has a Texas driver's license and then moves out of state for a period of time and then returns to the state after their driver's license is expired and they get a new Texas driver's license, would both the old driver's license and the new driver's license appear in the DPS ID database for that person?
- 19 A. I'd have to investigate that. I don't 20 know.
- Q. Do you know, for example, how far
 historically the DPS database goes back in time to



1 record different kinds of DPS IDs that an individual 2 has? 3 Α. I don't know. Would it be fair, in your opinion, to say 4 Q. that if someone had an expired driver's license 5 number in the DPS database and a current driver's 6 7 license in the DPS database, they provided the current driver's license and their voter 8 9 registration, that they would be likely to use that 10 same current driver's license in an ABBM or a mail-in 11 ballot --12 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. 13 BY MR. BRYANT: 14 0. -- rather than the old expired one? 15 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form. 16 Α. So this is a hypothetical situation you're 17 proposing? 18 BY MR. BRYANT: 19 I think it's real, but it's certainly Ο. 20 hypothetical for the purposes of my question. 21 Α. So like suppose that, you know, I'm Sure. 18 and I'm a high school senior and I have a license 22



1 to drive and I also registered to vote at the home of 2 my parents, then I move away to college, I come back, 3 I get a new license. 4 I'm still a registered voter because I was away for college, and now my TEAM record is 5 associated with the driver's license that I -- that I 6 7 got -- that I had as a kid, right, when I registered for the first time. 8 9 So if I'm in that situation, now I'm 25 10 and I've moved back to Texas, I would have no idea 11 off the top of my head whether I should fill out a 12 form with the current driver's license, with the old 13 driver's license. I would have no idea whether the 14 system updated my driver's license or it retained my 15 old one. From the individual voter perspective, I 16 17 think, if I'm understanding your hypothetical 18 correctly, I would just have no basis for knowing 19 which of those forms -- which of those ID numbers 20 would be the one that the TEAM database has on file. 21 I think that's the situation you were 22 suggesting.



1 Well, it's not, but it is a possibility, I 2 would say. But, you know, for example, there are 3 some people who got a driver's license for a 4 motorcycle when they were too young to vote and then went off to college or maybe the service or worked 5 for 20 years and they come back to Texas and get a 7 new driver's license and register to vote. 8 That would be a possibility where it's -the current driver's license would be reflected in 9 10 the TEAM's database and they would be likely to use 11 it when they filled out an ABBM; is that correct? 12 Α. I mean, this is -- you know, in my Maybe. 13 first report I said, you know, the people in the 14 at-risk will have to be lucky to not have a problem, 15 and this is exactly what I'm talking about. You know, they might guess right and they might guess 16 17 wrong. 18 Is there any way that a person who is in 0. 19 Texas who is a Texas voter and is not sure what 20 number is reflected in their current voter 21 registration can find out what it is before they 22 submit an ABBM or mail-in ballot?



A. I believe they could go to their county election office and seek that information.

Q. Another category that is listed in table A on page 5 of Exhibit 2 are those instances in which a voter has no DPS ID in the TEAM's database but has a DPS ID. That's the top category in table A.

What are the reasons why, as you understand it, a person could have a DPS ID in the DPS ID database but not a DPS ID in the TEAM's database?

MR. FREEMAN: I'm going to object again as this line of questioning is improper in this supplemental deposition, the first category which was present in the initial report.

This is a replication with updated data provided by the state. Any of these questions about that category as a general matter could have been asked before, should have been asked before in that complete deposition.

And so to the extent that you continue to pose questions about general categories of data in the replication, they are improper.



BY MR. BRYANT:

Q. You can go ahead and answer.

A. If I recall -- do I recall? -- I think maybe that years ago there was not the same expectation maybe to list the driver's license number or that was maybe one reason or the merge was different. I'm not entirely recalling why there are people like that in the file.

- Q. Is it your understanding that if a merge, as you described it, between the DPS ID database and the TEAM's database occurred after SB1 was in effect that a person who possessed a DPS ID should have had that DPS ID number entered into the TEAM's database as a result of the merge?
- A. Oh, I think the evidence here is clearly that that did not happen. In other words, this data comes after SB1. January 2023 is just a couple months ago, and there are plenty of people, almost 200,000, who have DPS ID numbers.

So it's clearly the same person. They have the same social security number, same name.

They have a DPS ID number. They're registered



1 voters, but they do not have that ID number 2 associated with their TEAM record.

- Q. And do you have any information at all as to why that occurred and the merge did not result in providing a DPS ID number in the TEAM's database for everyone who had a DPS ID number in the DPS ID database?
- A. I mean, I guess it's either one of two possibilities. One is that the state doesn't intend to do that kind of merge or that they did not do a complete job doing it.
- Q. So those are guesses -
 MR. FREEMAN: Objection.

 BY MR. BRYANT:
 - Q. -- reasonable guesses. Do you have any information as to why that phenomenon is observed?

 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
 - A. So just to step back. I don't think they're guesses. I think those actually are -- collectively cover all of the possibilities. They either didn't intend to do it or they intended to do it and they didn't do it, so I don't know which



1 category we're in. 2 BY MR. BRYANT: 3 It appears to me that the -- looking at 0. 4 the January 2023 number for that category of 189,095 5 is over 30 percent lower than the comparable number for February 2022; is that right? 6 7 Α. Yeah. I don't do the percentage like that 8 in my head as well as you do, but it's a -- compared 9 to the -- I think you're looking across row 1 there? 10 Yes, I am. Ο. 11 Yes. And the first time I did this, which was about a year ago, from the third report -- right, 12 13 there's 276,000 people in that category and now the 14 most recent one is down to 189,000. Okay. And I think you observed in Exhibit 15 0. 2 elsewhere that that category the number dropped 16 17 significantly as compared to the other categories 18 where it didn't drop so significantly or at all. 19 Do you have any information as to why the 20 number for January 2023 in that top category of 21 189,095 is so significantly lower than the comparable 22 number from 11 months earlier?



1 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form. 2 Again, I don't recall. I think there was Α. 3 -- I'm vaguely remembering a discussion of this in the deposition transcripts of the state leaders 4 5 saying they were doing these database merges, but I don't recall the specifics. 6 7 BY MR. BRYANT: 8 0. Okay. Aside from whatever you may have 9 read in depositions, do you have any knowledge on 10 that subject? 11 No, sir. Α. 12 Do you have any reason to believe that 13 similar reductions in the number of people affected 14 by that factor will not continue in the future? Again, lacking sufficient information 15 Α. about why there still are so many people who are in 16 17 this category, I wouldn't want to presume whether the 18 number is going to grow or shrink over time. 19 Dr. Hersh, I took a deposition earlier Ο. 20 this week of a woman who is a registered Texas voter, 21 lives 10 miles or so from Mexico, and she applied,



according to her testimony, for a ballot by mail in

connection with the 2022 general election.

And when she did so she put her U.S.

passport number in the form and it was rejected

initially. If she were a person who is in the group

that you describe as at-risk in your reports, she was

rejected for a reason unrelated to the reasons that

you describe in your reports; is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. She then testified that she just decided to go in town and vote in person and did so. Would her vote be reflect -- assuming that she was in the at-risk group, would the fact that she voted in person be reflected in your report anywhere?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. In the second part of the report where we talk about -- I talk about people who had a form rejected and then some cured and some didn't, she would be in that category.

Although we wouldn't know from the information you've told me so far whether she is in the at-risk or non at-risk pool, because the reason she had a problem was unrelated to the reasons I've



assessed here. 1 2 BY MR. BRYANT: 3 Yeah. My assumption for the question was O. that she was in the at-risk pool because perhaps 4 5 there was a discrepancy between her DPS ID, as shown in its database, and her DP -- her ID as shown in the 6 7 TEAM's database. 8 So did you understand that assumption as 9 part of the question? 10 I still don't understand it. In other Α. 11 words, the situation you've described is a person who 12 erroneously entered her passport number instead of 13 her DPS number? 14 Right, or a social security number. 15 had, according to her testimony, a current driver's license and a social security number, but she's used 16 17 to using her U.S. passport to go across the border 18 into Mexico and she thinks that should be a valid ID 19 for voting. 20 So, again, this is all based on what you 21 were telling me here. 22 Right. Ο.



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A. But what you're telling me here is a different class of problems that SB1 may have brought on, which is that maybe the form is confusing for someone or maybe some people are tripped up for one reason or another. That's not the reasons assessed in this part of my -- of my study here.

- Q. Is there any way of knowing how many people who are in your 2.7 million at-risk category had an ABBM rejected because they put in a U.S. passport number or put in no number or had some other problem unrelated to their driver's license or ID number?
- A. So there are a couple of challenges in answering that question. One is that the information provided on TEAM about ABBMs and about mail carriers is updated and overridden.

So we think -- I think that there are probably cases in which someone had a mail ballot application rejected but then eventually it was cured, or it wasn't cured but time transpired so that there was -- we were out of the time frame of when you could request a ballot.



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And all of those codes are not necessarily available on the file that I saw, because in a study like this you see one snapshot of the voter file, but actually the voter file is dynamic. So you don't see every change over time. That's one challenge.

The second challenge is -- the specific question you asked is essentially about do we know exactly why someone's ABBM form or carrier envelope was rejected? Is it for a reason like they put the passport number or because it was a typo?

And we don't have any -- we don't have any information about why anything was rejected, other than a narrow set of categories in TEAM. But in those narrow set of categories -- for example, there's categories that reflect an incomplete or invalid ID number, but we don't go the next step in the database of knowing why there was an invalid or incomplete ID number.

Q. And so I think my question was -- if not, it will be now -- is there any way to know how many people were in the situation of the witness that I described who assumed there was a discrepancy in the



1 information so that she's in your 2.7 million at-risk 2 but her ABBM is rejected for reasons totally 3 unrelated to the database problems that you've 4 described in your report? 5 So I think what you're asking --Α. Right. the problem that we're talking about with this 6 7 person, that she entered the wrong information, is 8 not related. What a -- as social science would say 9 it's orthogonal to the reasons why someone is in the 10 at-risk pool. 11 So if you were to ask me what is the 12 probability that this person is in the at-risk pool, 13 I would say 15 percent, which is a percent that 14 anyone is in the at-risk pool. 15 So to the extent that someone like that has a problem with a mail ballot being rejected, 16 17 those problems would be both in the at-risk and the 18 non at-risk pool at a rate of something like 85 19 percent of them in the non at-risk pool, 15 percent 20 in the at-risk pool. 21 That's the basic assumption we would make 22 because the error that you are articulating this



person committed has just nothing to do with their status in the at-risk pool or non at-risk pool.

- Q. Okay. I think you're close to answering my question. You've made an assumption that seems reasonable to me personally. But aside from that assumption, is there any way for any of us to know whether a particular person whose ABBM was rejected was because of reasons that you would describe as orthogonal to the database problems you just described?
- 11 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
- 12 A. So is there any way to know, other than 13 like logic?

14 BY MR. BRYANT:

- Q. Any data that you have seen or are aware of that could give us more information than an assumption?
- A. So, again, the data available in these databases provided to me have information about whether people were rejected, whether people applied, and some basic reasons about why they were rejected with a huge caveat that the database is missing



1 information about people whose codes were overridden. 2 Those codes when not overridden do not 3 distinguish someone who is in the situation that 4 you've described -- they put in the wrong number --5 from the situation that I've described, which is that they put in the right number, but the database is 6 7 wrong. 8 So the basis for forming the opinion I 9 formed that we just talked about was that there's no 10 logical connection between putting your passport 11 number in the form and being in this at-risk 12 category. 13 Okay. I think I understand your answer. Ο. 14 Is it correct that there's no way based on the data 15 that exists that you could determine how many such 16 people there were? 17 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form. 18 Based on the data as opposed to logic, you 19 cannot determine that. 20 BY MR. BRYANT: 21 Okay. All right. In the -- let's imagine Q. 22 a voter who puts in an ABBM but just doesn't include



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any numbers. Would that essentially be the same situation where you have a rejection of an ABBM for reasons that have nothing to do with the database issues that you described?

A. That's right. The person that's rejected on account of the SB1 rules, meaning if SB1 didn't produce this requirement, that person would not have been rejected. So it is on account of SB1, but it is unrelated to the database rules.

Just like, you know, are people who own green pants more likely to be in the at-risk -- well, there's a whole bunch of things, phenomenon in the world, that, again, there's just no logical reason to say that this would be more likely in the at-risk or the non at-risk pool.

- Q. Okay. You touch in your answer on another term that you use in your reports, which is "rejected for SB1 reasons." Could you explain what you mean by that term?
- A. Sure. So you have a mail ballot application. The ballot application on account of SB1 requires a voter to put their driver's license



number, or in the absence of having a driver's license number, their last four digits of their social security number.

If an ABBM or a carrier envelope is rejected on account of that information being incorrect or missing, then I would say it's attributable -- the rejection is attributable to SB1.

Q. Okay. So someone else might say that the rejection is attributable from the voter not reading the instructions and not attempting to comply with SB1. Is that an unfair way to look at it?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. So it depends on the category. The categories that I'm assessing here with the at-risk the person has filled out the form exactly correctly and they're rejected on account of SB1.

There are other situations maybe like the one you're talking about with the passport person who is rejected on account of SB1, but maybe it's because they didn't follow the directions or had trouble comprehending the instructions or something like that.



BY MR. BRYANT:

Q. And somebody who just didn't put in a number would be in a similar category?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. Someone who didn't put in a number would be rejected because of SB1 reasons, but not the ones that I assess here.

BY MR. BRYANT:

- Q. Okay. Now, do you know that -- if there was anything that prevented voters in the November 2022 general election from putting in both the DPS ID or driver's license number and the last four of their social security number?
- A. Well, yes. The instructions did not tell them to do that, so if you were just trying to follow the instructions to the point -- I know the experience of filling out government forms and I'm just trying to do the right thing so I don't get, you know, messed up with something.

And if you followed the instructions on the form, you'd only fill out one of them if you had a DPS ID number.



1	Q. Okay. And when you refer to those
2	instructions, what specifically are you referring to?
3	A. These are the instructions on the ABBM
4	application and on the carrier envelope.
5	Q. Have you ever received any information
6	that the Texas Secretary of State and/or the county
7	election officials in some instances communicated or
8	attempted to communicate to Texas voters that they
9	should put both numbers on their ABBMs or mail-in
10	ballots; namely, a DPS driver's license or ID and the
11	last four of their social security number?
12	MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
13	A. I'm aware of that.
14	BY MR. BRYANT:
15	Q. What do you know about that as to
16	strike that.
17	What do you know about those
18	communications in connection with the November 2022
19	general election?
20	A. So my knowledge of those communications
21	predates the November '22 general election. In my
22	last report, I discuss this at length. There were



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there was, for example, a YouTube video message from
the secretary saying what you've just described, that
a voter should fill in both their DPS ID number and
the last four digits of their social security.

I reflected at that time, which was

following the first election, the March election, with SB1 that the video from the secretary had something like 500 views on YouTube, four of which were from me, probably a bunch more from attorneys.

And I took that to -- I took from that that it was very unpopular -- an unpopular video from the secretary there.

And so if I were to weigh the instructions provided by the secretary that one should fill out both with the very clear plain text of instructions to the voters, I would say that it would make a lot of sense for voters to read the instructions in front of them as opposed to somehow magically finding a YouTube video that almost no one has seen.

Q. Aside from the YouTube video you refer to, are you aware of any other communications that were done by the Secretary of State's office in Texas or



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county election officials in advance of the November 2022 general election?

A. In advance of the November '22 general election, I'm not aware. My understanding was that there were instructions posted online and maybe conveyed to county officials to instruct voters on this front.

But, again, as far as I know, the application and mail ballot materials were the same, which has said to voters that they should put in their DPS ID number, and if they don't have a DPS ID number, then to include their last four digits of their social security number.

- Q. Do you have any understanding in connection with the November 2022 general election whether -- if someone did put in a DPS driver's license number or ID and the last four of their social security number and they were one of the people who had an issue with this database discrepancy that you've described, whether or not their ABBM or mail-in ballot would be accepted?
 - A. My understanding from the previous work on



1 this is that there's two circumstances. One is which 2 -- we're in the first category listed in table A 3 where the person doesn't have a DPS ID number listed. 4 They do have a DPS ID number. 5 They list that one and the county official 6 sees that there's no record of that in TEAM and then 7 they list the four digits of their social and that 8 would be accepted. That's my understanding. 9 I don't know the much larger category of 10 the person enters two and one of them is actually 11 wrong, according to the state, because it's the wrong 12 DPS ID number. And it's valid, totally valid, just 13 not the one that they list, or it's totally valid, 14 but there's a typo. That -- I don't know the circumstance in 15 that situation of -- if someone lists one, what 16 17 appears correct and one appears incorrect, even 18 though both are correct, how that would be treated by 19 a county. 20 MR. BRYANT: Is this a good time to take a 21 break? 22 MR. FREEMAN: Sure.



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               THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at
 2
    12:05.
 3
               (Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., a
 4
                luncheon recess was taken.)
 5
               AFTERNOON SESSION
 6
 7
                                                (1:03 p.m.)
 8
    Whereupon,
 9
                        DR. EITAN HERSH
10
    was called for continued examination, and having been
11
    previously duly sworn was examined and testified
12
    further as follows:
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               THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at
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    1:03.
15
               EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR STATE
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               DEFENDANTS CONTINUED
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               BY MR. BRYANT:
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               Dr. Hersh, you mentioned in your prior
         Ο.
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    testimony some information from, I believe, somebody
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    in the Texas Secretary of State's office that records
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    of votes that are initially -- or applications that
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    are initially rejected, those records may be
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1 | overridden in some instances.

Did I understand that correctly?

- A. There are designations on the voter file such as an application received or rejected or a mail ballot received or rejected could be overridden for a variety of reasons if there was a new code relevant, and there was -- I think I cite that in this report actually.
- 9 Q. Yeah. Is that the reference on page 10 to 10 a deposition transcript of Kristi Hart?
 - A. That's right.
 - Q. What's your understanding as to whether that practice occurs in every instance in which there's an initial rejection but later a vote, or whether it's done sometimes or rarely? How consistent a practice is that?
 - A. My understanding is that it's inconsistent, and that understanding comes from the following, which is clearly in the TEAM records that I saw there were incidences of: A) people who have both a rejected flag and a successfully voted flag; people who have multiple lines on the spreadsheet,



1 one for being, say, rejected and then one for being 2 accepted -- that's different from the first case, 3 which is the same line of the spreadsheet -- and then we have evidence from Ms. Hart that sometimes the 4 5 codes are just overridden. So whether it's up to the county or to the 6 7 individual clerk, there's obviously multiple ways 8 these codes are treated within the database, and I 9 have no way of knowing like what the relative rate is 10 of the different ones. 11 In all of your work did you speak with or 12 attempt to speak with anybody from the Texas 13 Secretary of State's office? 14 Α. No. 15 In all your work, did you speak with or 0. 16 attempt to speak with anybody from a Texas County 17 election office? 18 Α. No. 19 I think somewhere in your report you Ο. 20 stated that administrative records are not perfect. 21 Do you recall that? 22 Α. I recall having thought that and said



1	that.
2	Q. That's true in Texas and everywhere else,
3	right?
4	A. Everywhere else I've done any research
5	that's been true.
6	Q. Okay. And have you ever done an
7	assessment of any state's mail-in voter ID
8	requirements other than Texas?
9	MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.
10	A. So I've done other states mail
11	requirements and voter ID requirements, but not mail
12	voter ID requirements. I think this is the first
13	time.
14	BY MR. BRYANT:
15	Q. Okay. In what states have you done
16	studies or analyses of mail-in voting requirements?
17	A. I think let me see here. I know there
18	was a case in Iowa. I can't remember the other one,
19	maybe Kentucky. There was a few cases that were very
20	quick. There was no deposition regarding mail ballot
21	rules in the 2020 election.
22	Yeah. So there was two or three states in



which I looked at their mail ballot procedures and
the timing in which voters had to receive an
application, get an application, send back materials,
get their ballot.

There were a lot of questions surrounding mail ballot issues and the post office in the 2020 election, but I don't recall many details about all that.

- Q. Okay. Has any of your work on those two or three instances had any effect on your work and conclusions in this case?
- A. Yes, to the extent that, you know, I've developed now expertise in the study of mail voting. I recall, I think, in my second report I did a brief study in this case about the timing of when ballots are sent.

One of the concerns one might have about the curing process here is that voters tend to submit mail ballots at essentially the last minute in the last few days before the deadline. Many voters submit absentee ballot requests close to the deadline.



Thinking about those deadlines and making graphs about those deadlines is something I've done in previous cases, and here it's quite relevant because the curing process might take time. And if voters are submitting ballots near the deadline, there won't be time to cure.

- Q. Did your analysis in this case with respect to the November 2022 election include any assessment of how many ballots were rejected because they came in late?
- 11 A. No.

- Q. Is there any data that was available to you that would have given you information about that had you -- had you wanted to take a look at that?
- A. There are dates associated with the receipt of mail ballots, so we could look at those that were received late.
- Q. So is that the case in -- with respect to each of the ballots by mail that is received, there's a designation of the date on which it was received by the Texas County election office or by the Texas Secretary of State's office?



Yeah. 1 I'm not sure who the -- who enters 2 the date information. My quess is it's the counties. 3 But, yeah, there's a date associated with the mail 4 ballots coming in. 5 And you said it was two or three states. Q. 6 You mentioned Iowa and Kentucky. Do you recall the 7 other one, if there was another one? 8 Α. Iowa for sure was right. Kentucky I 9 think, although maybe it's Kansas. I think it was 10 one of those. I don't recall. I'd have to look it

- Q. It was a case state --
- A. What's that? It was a case state. Yeah, you know, because I wasn't deposed in those cases, I don't have a recollection of it off the top of my head.
 - Q. Okay. You also said that you have done work prior to this case in some matters involving voter ID requirements. In what instances did you do that?
- 21 | A. So I was --

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up.

22 MR. FREEMAN: I'm going to have to just



1 object to the extent that any of that work was as a 2 trial consultant and is not subject to disclosure 3 under the Federal Rules. One case that's off the top of my head 4 Α. that is in my CV, happening in the last four years, 5 was this case about -- it was a state case in North 6 7 Carolina. 8 I'm trying to remember the name of it Holmes v. Moore, 2021. So that was a voter ID 9 here. 10 case in North Carolina state court. BY MR. BRYANT: 11 12 Okay. Any others that you recall? Q. 13 Α.

- Not that I recall off the top of my head.
- Ο. Now, let's move to the third of your analyses that are discussed in the -- in Exhibit 2, your second supplemental report.

If I understood your report correctly with respect to November 2022, there were approximately 17.672 million registered voters in Texas at that time. And I think I'm working from footnote 12 on page 12.

Α. Yes, sir.

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1 And there were approximately 346,000 O. 2 voters who cast a vote by mail; is that right? 3 Α. That's right. As I talk about in the report, the numbers vary a little bit based on what 4 5 database you're using, but they're all about that, 6 350 or so thousand. 7 Ο. Okay. And in the -- on the same page in 8 paragraph 27, you state that of the 2.7 million 9 registrants who are termed by you to be at risk, 10 28,437 requested a mail ballot, which is roughly what 11 percentage? 12 It's about a little more than 1 percent. Α. 13 Okay. Do you have any understanding as to 0. 14 why the differences exist between the 1 percent figure and the 2 percent figure? 15 So this is -- the 28,000 are the 16 Α. Yes. 17 people who successfully requested a ballot.

So one possible answer to your question is that, you know, a higher percent of them were

means they got through the first stage of the ABBM

receipt; that is, they successfully -- you know,

presumably they were mailed a ballot.

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rejected at that initial ABBM stage.

Q. Okay. The third sentence of paragraph 27 says, quote, Of all the 2.7 million registrants with record issues, 28,437 requested a mail-in ballot, unquote.

But it's your testimony now that that does not include any of those who may have requested a mail-in ballot but have not been successful in getting a mail-in ballot?

A. Right. The -- as we kind of talked about before, a ballot request data has codes that have been overridden, according to Ms. Hart's testimony, including in those presumably may be people who requested a ballot, they were rejected.

But then after the period of time was over in which they could request a ballot I don't know whether they were still listed as having the status of having it requested but they didn't get it.

For that reason, I focused this analysis on people who successfully requested a ballot.

However, as I mentioned about the beginning of our testimony, I did additional analysis on this



1 | particular paragraph's data and I looked --

Q. And this is an analysis you refer to that occurred since the date of Exhibit 2?

A. That's right, yeah, just to confirm that if you look at the data from the perspective of those ballot requests that are available as records in the voter file, the results are the same.

In other words, there's two ways to look at the pool of people who requested ballots. The pool of people who tried to request ballots, which is estimated with some error if we assume that the codes are overridden, and the people who successfully requested a ballot, which also has some error.

So I looked at it both ways, and this report that we're looking at here I focused on the successfully requested a ballot pool.

Q. Okay. But for the reasons you stated, you cannot estimate the total number of people who requested a mail-in ballot in the November 2022 election?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection. Form.

A. I can estimate it with the data with this



1 asterisk, that I think that ABBM request fields is 2 likely to be estimated itself with error because of 3 these overridden codes. 4 One could do that. I have done it, but here in this report I use this alternative definition 5 of people who have requested and received the ballot 6 7 or were sent a ballot. BY MR. BRYANT: 8 9 Okay. If I understand your report Q. 10 correctly, out of the 2.7 million registered voters 11 who you deem to be at risk, 6,380 never cast a 12 successful mail-in ballot in the November 2022 13 election; is that right? 14 Α. Did you say the 6380, that number? 15 O. Yes. 16 Α. Right. 17 Q. Okay. Now, does that 6,380 number 18 potentially include people who requested and got a 19 mail-in ballot but for some reason did not cast that 2.0 mail-in ballot? 21 Yes, both that and this comparisons group Α. 22 include those people.



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And would that 6,380 number also include voters who requested and received a mail-in ballot in connection with the November 2022 general election but returned the ballot late? Yes, both that group and the comparison Α. group include people who've returned the ballot late. When you say comparison group, could you Ο. be specific about what you're referring to? The key comparison in this Sure. paragraph is the comparison between those who are in the at-risk pool, as I've defined it -- that's the 28,487 -- and the people who are not in the at-risk pool, everyone else. And in the -- the key comparison is those

And in the -- the key comparison is those in the at-risk pool have much lower participation in mail voting, and as I later discovered in all voting, as the non at-risk pool.

But both those pool -- well, the at-risk pool and the comparison group, meaning everyone else -- has people in all the kind of categories that you're describing, people who didn't return the ballot or returned it late or have any other



different kind of characteristics.

- Q. Would it have been possible for you to determine which of the 6,380 in that group never returned a mail-in ballot for the November 2022 general election?
- A. I think -- is that not what I did? In other words, these are the people who didn't vote by mail ballot.
- Q. I understood it to be these are the people who didn't successfully cast a mail-in ballot. So, again, my understanding doesn't matter. Yours does. But that would include people who returned a mail-in ballot but it was rejected for some reason, it would include people who never returned a mail-in ballot, and it would include people who returned a mail-in ballot late; is that correct?
- A. Yeah. The people who didn't return a ballot, you're saying, are -- the people who didn't return a ballot or did not vote successfully may have not voted successfully because they did not return a ballot at all or because they turned it in late or because they had some trouble with the -- following



1 the rules or they got caught up in some of the SB1 2 issues that are at question here. 3 And so the question I think that you're 4 asking is can you subset to a category of this? 5 I'm not trying to make it confusing. Q. МУ 6 understanding is that there are at least those three 7 components within that 6,380 votes that were never 8 cast successfully that you just went over. 9 Are there any others that you can think 10 of? 11 You didn't want to return it, you voted Α. 12 instead in person. 13 That would probably be somebody who didn't Q. 14 attempt to cast a mail-in ballot? 15 MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form. 16 Α. No. Maybe -- I don't know. It could be 17 that they attempted to and then they got caught up in 18 these ID requirements -- who knows why -- but they 19 voted in person or they could have returned it too 20 late. 21 And so, yeah, we could subset to just the, you know -- here, I did who did a successful mail 22



1 ballot. Later, as I mentioned before, I saw if there 2 was a difference on who voted at all having --3 conditioned on requesting a mail ballot. 4 So I think that you're asking could we exclude the people from the analysis who didn't 5 return a mail ballot at all or who returned one late? 6 7 And, yeah, that's an alternative method one could 8 use. 9 BY MR. BRANT: 10 Well, that's not exactly what I asked, but 0. 11 it's -- it's something that I will try to get to. I just asked about the -- can you 12 13 determine or even estimate the number within the 14 6,380 who never returned a mail-in ballot? I believe I could do that with the data I 15 Α. have available to me. I can't -- from what's in the 16 17 report right now this is a different analysis than 18 the one you're suggesting. So the one you're 19 suggesting is possible, as far as I understand your 20 suggestion. It's not the one I did here. 21 And is it also true that you could 0. determine but didn't determine the number within the 22



1 6,380 who returned their mail-in ballot late and, 2 therefore, it was not successfully cast? 3 Right. I did not deem that to be Α. 4 necessary, but if -- yeah, but one could do that with 5 the data I had. And then I think I mentioned a third 6 Ο. 7 category that I hadn't fully thought of until your 8 answer, which is somebody who sent in a mail-in 9 ballot but for whatever reason then decided to also 10 go vote in person. 11 Would that still be within the 6,380 of 12 people who never cast a successful mail-in ballot? 13 MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form. 14 Α. Yes. So the scenario I was imagining 15 wasn't that they sent in the mail ballot, but maybe their mail ballot was rejected or maybe they received 16 17 it in their home but they didn't vote that way, and 18 they end up going to vote in person. So that's a 19 different analysis. I actually did that analysis, as 20 I talked about earlier. 21 BY MR. BRYANT: 22 Okay. If somebody in that 6,380 mailed in Ο.



a mail-in ballot but for whatever reason went ahead 1 2 and voted in person, would that still be counted in 3 your 6,380 as somebody who never cast a successful mail-in ballot? 4 5 In this analysis, it would. That's right. Α. Okay. Did you also analyze in connection 6 Ο. 7 with the November 2022 general election how many 8 ballots were mail-in ballots that were rejected for 9 reasons related to ID? 10 Α. I did estimate that, yes. 11 And did you then determine which of those Ο. 12 voters did not cure whatever problem caused the 13 rejection and -- or vote in person? 14 Α. I believe so -- yeah, in the previous Right. 15 analysis. Okay. I have that number as being 6,355. 16 Q. 17 But regardless of what I have, how would you 18 calculate that? And please feel free to take your

MR. FREEMAN: David, if you could direct him to the paragraph in his report, that might allow for more accurate testimony.

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time.



MR. BRYANT: I will be happy to provide it 1 2 as soon as I get to it. 3 BY MR. BRYANT: 4 Q. Okay. I think that in paragraph 19 on page 9 of Exhibit 2 there is the statement: "Of all 5 the mail ballot rejections, 11,430 (83.8 percent) 6 7 have a code indicating that identification 8 verification was the reason for the rejection." 9 And, again, I believe a percentage of 10 those cured the rejection or otherwise managed to 11 vote successfully; is that right? 12 That's right, a percentage of them. Α. So I 13 think that -- we're looking at paragraph 21. 14 So of this 11,430, which, again, 11,430 15 are mail ballot rejections on account of identification verification. Of The 11,430, 55.6 16 17 percent of them failed to vote successfully following 18 their ballot being rejected. 19 And so if you calculate or estimate the Ο. amount that -- of the 11,430 whose records show that 20 they were able to vote either by mail or in person, 21 22 is that number about 6,355?



1 So now I think you're doing 44.4 percent Α. 2 times 11,430? 3 Exactly. Q. 4 Α. That sounds about right. 5 Q. Okay. Now --Now, we need a calculator to confirm. 6 Α. 7 I agree, and all I need is an estimate for Ο. 8 the purpose of this. 9 MR. FREEMAN: For the purpose of clarity of the record, 11,430 times 55.6 percent? 10 11 THE WITNESS: No, times 44.4. 12 MR. FREEMAN: Oh, times 44 -- sorry. 13 11,430 times --14 THE WITNESS: .444. 15 MR. FREEMAN: -- is 5,075. 16 THE WITNESS: 5,075. 17 MR. BRYANT: Uh-oh. Okay. 18 MR. FREEMAN: 11,430 times .556 is 6,355. 19 Α. Okay. So the larger number is the one 20 that failed to successfully vote. The slightly 21 smaller number one is the one who --22 MR. FREEMAN: Daniel, rather than having



1 me testify, why don't I give the witness a 2 calculator. 3 MR. BRYANT: I think you're doing a great 4 job. MR. FREEMAN: But it would be better if 5 the witness testified. As much as I'm trying to help 6 7 you along, I should not do you that solid. 8 MR. BRYANT: He is the expert. 9 You know I don't want to be replaced by 10 Chat GPT, but I will calculate things myself here. 11 BY MR. BRYANT: 12 Well, I'm pretty confident you won't be Q. 13 replaced by a lawyer, no matter how learned and 14 esteemed. 15 Α. Okay. So just to be clear, of these 11,430 individuals who were estimated to be rejected 16 17 in their mail ballots on account of ID requirements, 6,355 of them do not have a record that they voted 18 19 successfully. And 5,075 of them have a record that 20 they did vote successfully. 21 And to be clear, that successful voting 22 may have been in person or maybe by mail.



1	Q. Thank you. So that number of 11,430
2	includes both the registered voters whom you deemed
3	in the at-risk category as well as those who were not
4	in the at-risk category?
5	A. Yes.
6	Q. So is it fair to say that out of 8.1
7	million votes that were cast in the November 2022
8	general election a total of 6,355 were mail-in
9	ballots rejected for reasons related to ID
10	requirements and not thereafter successfully cast
11	either by mail or in person?
12	A. Yes, with the caveat that: A again,
13	because of the overriding of codes we just want to
14	have the caveat that the data might be different if
15	we didn't have the overridden codes.
16	And second of all, that the other people
17	who are listed with such a code were also affected by
18	the law, but not in a way that limited their vote.
19	Q. Could you explain what you mean in your
20	answer by the term affected by a code, unquote (sic)?
21	A. Meaning, there seemed to be plenty of
22	people, thousands of people, who had a mail ballot



rejected on account of ID rules and might have suffered burdens because of that, but ended up voting.

- Q. Okay. Those would be people in the 5,075 group that we discussed earlier?
- A. Right.

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- Q. Okay. Now, of the 6,355 we've just been discussing, is it possible that some of them were unable or failed to vote successfully because on their -- on a subsequent ballot they made some mistake unrelated to identification?
 - A. So just to make sure I'm understanding, I think you're posing a scenario in which someone's mail ballot was rejected on account of the ID rules and then maybe they got another mail ballot or tried again and for a reason unrelated to the ID rules failed to vote --
 - Q. Is that possible?
 - A. It seems to be possible.
 - Q. Okay. Just hypothetically you have somebody whose ballot was rejected because of an ID issue, they fix the ID issue and send it back in, but



1 forgot to sign it. So is that an example of someone 2 who cured their ID problem but still is in the 6,355 3 who never successfully cast a mail-in ballot --4 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. 5 BY MR. BRYANT: -- or an in-person ballot, for that 6 0. 7 matter? 8 Α. Yes. I don't know if that's an example of someone who is in that set, but it's an example of 9 10 someone who could be in that set. 11 BY MR. BRYANT: 12 Right. And we could think of some --Q. 13 probably some other errors that voters can make that 14 were not related to ID. 15 But would any persons who were not able to vote successfully because their second mail-in ballot 16 17 contained errors other than ID still be within that 18 -- counted within that 6,355? 19 MR. FREEMAN: Objection. There's no 20 question pending. 21 So, again, I think you're just referring Α. 22 to the possibility of multiple problems with a



1	ballot, one of which is
2	BY MR. BRYANT:
3	Q. Or a variety of problems, yes.
4	A a variety of problems. One part of
5	that variety has to do with these ID requirements and
6	other parts have do not with the ID requirements.
7	And so that would be a person who did not vote, had
8	an ID requirement.
9	I think you're questioning or asking about
10	the causal relationship between the ID problem and
11	the eventual vote.
12	Q. No, I'm not really asking about that. I
13	was just trying to establish if it is true that of
14	the 6,355 there can be people whose failure
15	ultimately to not cast a successful ballot was
16	because of the a defect other than an
17	identification defect in the second ballot they
18	attempted to cast?
19	MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form.
20	A. Yes. That's theoretically possible.
21	BY MR. BRYANT:
22	Q. Okay. Do you have any way of knowing



whether that occurred or if so how many of the 6,355 are accounted for by that possibility?

- A. I don't believe there are codes in the voter file that are sufficiently detailed to answer that question.
- Q. Well, I think you can answer the question as to whether or not you can calculate it based on the data that you have?
- A. Yeah, that's what I mean. Based on the data that's available, one could not figure that out.
- Q. Do you have any opinions about whether absent further law changes the number of people who do not cast a successful mail-in ballot in Texas because of ID issues will increase, stay the same, or decrease?
- A. I would guess that the problems would increase based on my knowledge of elections today.
- Q. Do you have any basis in the Texas data for that guess --
 - MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form.
- 21 BY MR. BRYANT:

Q. -- the Texas data specifically that you've



had access to?

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2 Sure. Over a period of -- I don't know --Α. 3 about 12 years or so older people -- specifically 4 older people have made more use of absentee voting in Texas. If you look at the numbers from I think like 5 2012, there's been an increase in mail ballot usage, 6 7 which is consistent across the country. It's a 8 fairly popular form of voting, but in Texas the rate 9 of mail voting is much lower than in some other 10 states.

- Q. Specifically by that group or in general or both?
- A. In general, certainly by people not in that group. And so the insight is that because a few people are voting by mail in Texas, people don't necessarily know they have this ID problem that would come up when they do vote by mail.

And if you imagine that more people over time in general are going to want to use mail voting, each election more people will be kind of caught up with these issues. Now, that's on average.

Obviously, a smaller percentage of people cast mail



ballots in November than did in March 2022.

But in general, I think we'll see -- one would expect to see more mail balloting in the future and more people sort of caught up for the first time in a problem with these ID -- ID regulations.

- Q. November 2022 was the first time there was a general election in which mail-in voters had to comply with an ID requirement in Texas; is that correct?
 - A. Yes.

- Q. Would you expect that mail-in voters who have had that experience are less likely to have problems in successfully casting mail-in votes in the future?
- A. Well, again, so only like 2 percent of registered voters voted by mail. So the next election will have a lot of people who have never voted by mail.

Of the people who voted by mail once, they might resolve their problem or help the state resolve the state's problem, or they might just say, mail voting is just too much of a burden here, you know,



1 the state prefers me to vote in person, so I'll 2 substitute mail for in person. 3 In other words, if you have sort of a 4 hassle with one arm of the government, you might --5 you might go to another arm. Another arm it that instance being what? 6 0. 7 Being in-person voting. 8 0. Okay. In other words, it's still the same 9 county election facility, but a different process? 10 A different process. Α. 11 Okay. And so if I understand you 12 correctly, you're saying there are some factors that 13 might make an unsuccessful mail-in -- strike that. 14 There are some factors that make it less 15 likely that the number of successful mail-in votes will go down, some factors that will make it more 16 likely that the number of mail-in voters will go up. 17 18 And it's a matter of opinion as to which of those are 19 likely to predominate in the future? 20 MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form. 21 Α. Well, again, I mean, I don't think these 22 are all of equal weight. You have -- you know, the



1 people -- you know, a heck of a lot of people turn 65 2 over a four-year period, so all of those people for 3 the first time are aged into the -- to one -- the 4 excuse one has to vote by mail. 5 So all of those people are encountering mail voting for the first time under the conditions 6 7 of being 65 and up. So that's a big group of new 8 people who are potentially going to encounter 9 problems for the first time every time. 10 election a new crop ages in. 11 And then of the people who have had this 12 experience and are tripped up with these regulations, 13 they might be able to resolve it, in which case, they 14 won't have a problem in the future, or they might 15 substitute in-person voting or just give up on 16 voting. We don't know exactly what their behavior 17 would be. 18 MR. BRYANT: I'll tell you what, why don't 19 we take a break? And I'll see if I can get in a 20 position to finish up. 21 MR. FREEMAN: Okay. Great. 22 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 1:49.



1 (A break was taken.) 2 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the 3 record at 2:10. 4 BY MR. BRYANT: 5 Dr. Hersh, let me refer you to Exhibit 2 Q. 6 and paragraph 23 --7 I'm there. Α. 8 BY MR. BRYANT: 9 -- in which you discuss a term called, 10 quote, mail-in rejection rate and a term uncured --11 uncanceled rejection rate. 12 Could you explain for the record what you 13 mean first by mail ballot rejection rate? 14 Sure. This is the rate as estimated by the available data of any mail ballot that was 15 flagged as rejected. 16 17 Ο. Would that include ABBMs or only actual mail-in ballots? 18 19 Only actual mail-in ballots. 20 And when you say flagged as rejected, do Q. 21 you mean that there was a code indicating rejection 22 in the TEAM's database?



1 A. That's right.

- Q. Okay. And was this rate of 4.1 percent specifically for the November 2022 general election?
 - A. Yes.

Q. Now, the other term I had mentioned was, quote, uncured/uncanceled rejection rate of 2.5 percent, unquote.

What did you mean by the term "uncured/uncanceled rejection rate"?

A. So this is now people who have the rejection flag -- I think it's AX is the flag -- and there's no indication that they have another record that they voted, or that same record said that they voted either in person or by mail.

There's a bit of, again, inconsistency in how this data is stored, so on some records there's multiple records for a single person. So that person will have one record that says it got rejected and then another record saying they voted in person. In other records, it's all on one line.

Q. And I think you also mentioned in paragraph 23 the source of uncertainty that we've



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discussed earlier in the deposition, which is that some cured mail-in ballots may have had their codes in the TEAM's database overridden once they were cured.

So how reliable do you think those rejection rates are or can you not estimate that?

MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form.

A. Yes. In order to estimate that, I think one would have to look at, you know, daily snapshots during this period of an election. You know, we look at the database today and we look what rejections are and then we look tomorrow, and we can see if someone was changed from a flag of rejection to a flag of accepted.

Without that real time kind of snapshots we're left with essentially the final product, which is after the election what does the voter file say? And this is based on that kind of final product, and I don't have a way to estimate with this data how much things would change.

I think what I would say is that the -this would be a conservative estimate that I've given



of rejection rates because it's essentially the final rejection rate.

So all of the -- all of the incompleteness is in one direction, which is to say, if it says rejected and it was rejected, it's not going to be changed now to accepted. But over the course of an election you can see how a county clerk might have a rejected one and then once it's cured they delete the rejection flag.

BY MR. BRYANT:

- Q. If a voter had cast a mail-in ballot in that November 2022 election and it was rejected but the voter then went and voted in person successfully, do you have a high level of confidence that the successful in-person vote would be reflected on the TEAM's database?
- A. Yes. The in-person votes are -- have a clear designation and it lines up with what the state was reporting.

There seems to be fewer inconsistencies with the in-person, including early in-person voting than with the mail -- the mail voting, which makes



1 sense insomuch as there's a lot of things happening 2 with mail voting with the applications being 3 requested, being received, being rejected, being -there's a lot of steps with mail voting that are not 4 true of the other forms of voting. 5 Okay. I think you also calculated the 6 Ο. 7 mail-in ballot rejection rate for the 2022 primaries and concluded in Exhibit 2 that the vote -- the 8 9 mail-in ballot rejection rate in November of 2022 was 10 quite a bit lower; is that correct? 11 Α. That's right. Here --12 I think it's mentioned in paragraph 24. Q. 13 I do think I calculated that Α. Right. 14 rejection rate in my previous report. Here, I believe it's just -- I'm just referring to the public 15 reporting of that rejection rate. Yeah, I'm citing 16 17 the daily Dallas Morning News with that one of 12 18 percent rejection. 19 Okay. So do you have a reason to believe Ο. 20 that that comparison is inaccurate? 21 Α. I think it's accurate.



And do you have any understanding as to

22

Ο.

why the rejection rate was so much lower in November 2 2022 than in the springtime of 2022?

- A. I didn't do any kind of research about why that would happen.
- Q. Okay. And nothing in your data would give you an answer to that?
 - A. An answer to why there's a higher rejection rate in the primary election?

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- 9 Q. I'd phrase it as to why the rejection rate
 10 in November was about a third of what it was in the
 11 primary.
 - A. Yeah, I don't know. I mean, there's -obviously, there's multiple things going on here.

 The turnout rate is obviously much higher in the
 general election than the primary. It's a different
 set of voters in the primary election.

The mail voting participation rate was higher in the primary, so not only is that -- it's fewer people and more of them are using mail voting in that primary than the general and it's also months later.

So it could be that, you know, there was a



lot of news about the fact that so many mail ballots
were rejected and this, you know, dissuaded some
people from voting by mail. I don't know. There's a
lot of possibilities.

- Q. Is it a possibility that there's a learning curve in voters who knew better of the requirements and how to fulfill them in the fall than in the spring of 2022?
- A. What I would say is that the kind of problems that I identify in my report would be very hard for a voter to determine because they are problems that originate in database issues as opposed to the voters being careful or something like that.

So I don't suspect, at least for the problems that I focus on here, that the learning curve would be particularly helpful. But on some other issues maybe if people, you know, didn't fill out an ID number at all, maybe there would be a learning curve on that. But that's really separate from the problems that I'm focused on here.

Q. Is it possible that a Texas voter may have had their mail-in ballot rejected in the spring



1 because of an ID issue, specifically that the 2 driver's license number that they put in did not match what was on the TEAM's record and in the 3 4 ensuing months they made sure that they were registered with their current driver's license? 5 MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form. 6 7 Α. That's possible. 8 BY MR. BRYANT: 9 Is there any way to determine whether and Q. 10 to what extent that occurred between the primary in 11 March of 2022 and the general election in November of 12 2022? 13 So I'd be interested to know how much Α. 14 overlap there is between the people who used mail 15 ballots in those two elections to what extent those same people are different people. We could see the 16 17 people who were rejected, whether they voted by mail 18 again. We might be able to see whether they changed 19 their -- whether their ID numbers as listed in TEAM 20 changed. 21 So it's possible to maybe get out the 22 question with the data.



1 So the -- strike that. O. 2 The 12 percent rejection rate that is 3 referred to in paragraph 24 of Exhibit 2, is that more comparable to the 4.1 percent rejection rate 4 than the 2.5 percent uncured/uncanceled rejection 5 6 rate? 7 I don't recall off the top of my head what -- which of those rates it was. 8 9 Okay. Assuming we're just going to Q. 10 compare 12 percent and 4.1 percent, the rejection 11 rate in November of 2022 was about a third of what it 12 was in the primaries of 2022. 13 Would you expect that the rejection rate 14 would go further downward in 2023 or 2024? 15 MR. FREEMAN: Objection to form. So I don't like predicting the future. 16 Α. 17 What I would say is that a key insight here is that 18 if -- A) not that many people are using the mail 19 voting system. And so the people who are using it 20 one year to the next might be very different. 21 Now, particularly are the non-seniors. 22 You know, if someone's pregnant and having a baby one



1 year, they're not pregnant and having a baby the next 2 year maybe. They only fall into the category once, 3 so there's a lot of opportunity for new people in the 4 category -- someone's overseas now but not next year. 5 There are a lot of opportunities for people to only encounter the mail voting system for 6 7 the first time in any one election. And to the 8 extent that there is, in general, a trend towards 9 more mail voting, you know, I would expect more 10 problems in the future. 11 BY MR. BRYANT: 12 Rather than less? Q. 13 Rather than less. Α. 14 0. Okay. Do you have any data that tells you 15 what percentage of the mail-in voters in November 2022 were encountering mail-in voting for the first 16 17 time? 18 In the data that was provided to me for 19 this case I don't think it has the mail voting data 20 going back in time, but almost certainly the Texas 21 election administration has that data and we can 22 answer that question.



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Q. The primaries in 2022 and the general election in 2022 were also the first times that county and state election officials operated under the procedures of SB1, right?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you have reason to believe that there is also a learning curve for those 254 county election offices in Texas and the Texas Secretary of State in smoothly and correctly handling mail-in ballots or ABBMs?

A. I don't know. I mean, that really depends on factors like, you know, staff training and professionalism, staff retention. I would say it's not a great statistic for the learning curve that there's just, you know, almost, what, 200,000 people who definitely have DPS ID numbers but they're not on TEAM.

So that seems to me to reflect a lack of a learning curve. But a learning curve depends, again, on lack of staff turnover, staff training, all sorts of things that I just have no basis for determining whether the learning curve would happen or not.



1 Do you know how many of those registered 2 voters who did not have DPS ID numbers in the TEAM's 3 database were ones who had voted in recent years? 4 Α. Do I know whether the people who are on 5 TEAM without a DPS ID number but they have a DPS number, had they voted? Yes, I believe that I did an 6 7 analysis that showed how many -- well, I guess I did 8 an analysis that showed how many of these at-risk 9 people had recently voted like in the 2020 election, 10 the most recent election. 11 I'm not sure I subsetted --Did a subset of the 200,000 --12 Q. 13 Α. Right. 14 Ο. -- or less now? 15 Α. Yeah. I didn't do that subset. 16 MR. BRYANT: All right. I'll pass the 17 witness. Thank you very much. 18 MR. FREEMAN: Does counsel for the 19 defendant interveners have any questions for the 20 witness? 21 MR. KENNY: No, we do not. 22 MR. FREEMAN: I just have a few quick



1	follow-up questions then if we're back on our side of				
2	the V.				
3	EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR PLAINTIFFS				
4	BY MR. FREEMAN:				
5	Q. Dr. Hersh, thank you for your testimony				
6	today. I just have very quick qualification				
7	questions.				
8	A few different times you talked about				
9	lower mail voting participation rates with respect to				
10	comparisons between your at-risk and non at-risk				
11	pools.				
12	When you said mail voting participation				
13	rate, did you mean rate of successfully casting a				
14	mail ballot?				
15	MR. BRYANT: Objection to form.				
16	A. Yes, participation in this context means				
17	successfully voting in an election.				
18	BY MR. FREEMAN:				
19	Q. And when you were talking about how				
20	comparisons between the at-risk and non at-risk pools				
21	and whether the combined mail voting and in-person				
22	voting participation rates were the same or				



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different, what did you mean by participation rates specifically?

- A. So if we look at the at-risk pool and the non at-risk pool and we compare their turnout rate, it's another way of saying participation rate.

 There's rate of successfully voting. There's a significant difference in the successful voting rate, a/k/a participation rate, a/k/a turnout of the -- in which the at-risk people are lower -- less likely to turn out.
- Q. Okay. One other quick set of questions. You discussed with Mr. Bryant the notion of a voter who put a mistake or an illegible number on a voter registration form such that the voter was the initial source of an error in the DPS number on TEAM.

In that scenario, who then has possession of the records concerning -- that include that erroneous number?

- A. So this is at the registration stage we're talking about?
- Q. Once the voter has been registered with the erroneous number, who is in possession of the



registration data?

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A. Right. So someone registers to vote.

They register -- they put a typo or have illegible

4 | handwriting such that the DPS ID number that lands in

5 | TEAM is inaccurate.

So now TEAM, the election authority, the county authority, has possession of the incorrect and correct, if they looked at the other source -- they have in the file the incorrect DPS ID number.

- Q. Is it possible for the Secretary of State's office to identify those erroneous DPS numbers in the same manner that you did?
- A. Yeah. They have all my code already.

 They can find all of them.
 - Q. And is it possible for the state to correct those errors, even if they originated with the voter?
 - A. Yes. If a voter is registered to vote and now the election authority has their name, their social security number, or just their name and address and their birth date and has an erroneous DPS ID number, then if the state were to, as a matter of



1 list maintenance, match their TEAM records to DPS, 2 they would discover that there is a discrepancy and 3 they would be able to correct it. And in the case of the individuals 4 Q. identified in table A of Exhibit 2 on page 5, to the 5 extent that any of those 189,095 individuals who have 6 7 no DPS ID in TEAM and possess a DPS ID, is it possible for the state to identify those individuals 8 9 and import a DPS number into those records? 10 Α. Yes. 11 Has the state done so? Ο. 12 Α. No. 13 MR. FREEMAN: I have no further questions. I'll reserve the remainder for trial. 14 15 Is there anyone else on the line who has 16 questions? Okay. 17 EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR STATE 18 DEFENDANTS 19 BY MR. BRYANT: 20 I just have a follow-up or two. Ο. 21 In Mr. Freeman's questioning of you, you 22 answered a question by saying it would be possible



1 for the state to compare the DPS ID numbers in its 2 database with those in the DPS ID database and 3 identify discrepancies just as you did. 4 Is there anything in the law that requires the Texas Secretary of State to do that, that you 5 know of? 6 7 I believe there's a general provision in Α. is it NVRA or HAVA that states are expected to keep 8 9 their records up-to-date and accurate. There's no, 10 as far as I know, direct provision about how to keep 11 them accurate, but this is a way to keep them 12 accurate. 13 That is a way to keep them accurate or Ο. 14 more accurate? 15 Α. Sure. Okay. And does it have an obligation to 16 Q. 17 correct its voter registration records when the voter is the source of the error in the records such as in 18 19 the example that we've just been discussing? 20 I mean, it sounds like we're Α. Yeah. 21 getting close to like a legal question about 22 obligation that I'm uncomfortable answering as a



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   nonlawyer.
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               MR. BRYANT: Fine. That's all the
 3
    questions I have.
               MR. FREEMAN: I reserve the remainder of
 4
 5
    our questions for trial. Thank you so much, Dr.
    Hersh.
 6
 7
               THE WITNESS:
                             Thanks.
               THE VIDEOGRAPHER: And we're off the
 8
 9
    record at 2:35.
10
               THE REPORTER: Reading and signing, Mr.
11
    Freeman?
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               MR. FREEMAN: Yes. Thank you.
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               THE REPORTER: And would you like a copy,
14
    sir?
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               MR. FREEMAN: Yes, please. Regular
16
   delivery.
17
               THE REPORTER: On the Zoom, who would like
18
    a copy of the transcript?
19
                                 This is Stephen Kenny.
               MR. KENNY: Yes.
20
    We would like to order a copy of the transcript.
21
               THE REPORTER: And would you like regular
22
    delivery? eTran, hardcopy or both?
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MR. KENNY: Just regular delivery of an
 1
 2
    eCopy.
 3
                (Signature having not been waived, the
    videotaped deposition of Dr. Eitan Hersh was
 4
    concluded at 2:35 p.m.)
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1	CERTIFICATE
2	
3	I do hereby certify that I am a Notary
4	Public in good standing, that the aforesaid testimony was taken before me, pursuant to notice, at the time and place indicated; that said deponent was by me
5	duly sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; that the testimony of said
6	deponent was correctly recorded in machine shorthand by me and thereafter transcribed under my supervision
7	with computer-aided transcription; that the deposition is a true and correct record of the
8	testimony given by the witness; and that I am neither of counsel nor kin to any party in said action, nor
9	interested in the outcome thereof.
10	
11	WITNESS my hand and official seal this
12	day of, 2023.
13	
14	Sherry Brooks
15	
16	Notary Public
17	
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